1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5

helmets of bullhide were worn in battle. Fitz-Roy (1839, 2:147) reports use of a shield of hides sewn together. Fighting was unorganized, of the individualistic pattern, with much use of surprise and ambush.

Captives were taken, especially women and children. There was no torture of prisoners. Cannibalism—avengeful, gastronomic, magical, or other—was absent.

Mercy killing occurred in the form of premature interment, in some cases where hope of recovery had been given up (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, pp. 56–57). The useless were sometimes abandoned when the band had to be on the move (D'Orbigny, 1935–47, 2:190).

ECONOMIC CULTURE

Ownership.—On land tenure, see supra under Political Life. Ownership of personal property by male and female children, from infancy, was distinctly recognized (Musters, 1871, p. 177). Currency was absent. Barter was common, with other Indian groups and with Whites. Barter by exchange of presents, or something very much like it, occurred (Musters, 1871, pp. 155–156, 242–243). The property of a person was usually buried with him or burned at his death, so there was not much, if any, acquisition of property by inheritance. The *Tehuelche* are reported to have been very honest among themselves. The killers of guanacos and ostriches had certain prior rights to specified parts thereof, but game food was customarily shared generously with others.

Labor.—A woman who made a skin mantle for a bachelor might expect some compensation (Musters, 1871, p. 171). Captives sometimes were kept in sort of drudge slavery (Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2:153; Spegazzini, 1884, p. 237).

Men's chief tasks were: Hunting, fighting, breaking and training horses, making saddles, harness, lassos, and pipe bowls, and doing most of the work of silversmithing. Women's chief tasks were: Caring for the children and the toldo, fetching wood and water, cooking and preparing food, caring for the impedimenta on the move, dressing, sewing, and painting skins, making clothing, and weaving filleta.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth and infancy.—All statements on birth, infancy, and education here refer to the later *Tehuelche*.

Shortly after birth the child was smeared with damp gypsum (Musters, 1871, p. 176). According to Moreno (1879, pp. 445–446), marital abstinence was practiced from conception until about a year after birth. Prichard (1902, p. 92) states that children's heads were

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famous for their manufacture, stuffed with guanaco wool and sown up with ostrich or guanaco sinews. The bolsters do duty as pillows or as seats, and help to form the women's saddles on the march. Besides these, the women all own mandils for their beds. The men occasionally use the cloths worn under the saddles for seats when the ground is damp, but as a rule all the inmates of the toldo squat upon Nature's carpet, which has the advantage of being easily cleaned, for the Tehuelches are very particular about the cleanliness of the interior of their dwellings, and a patch of sod accidentally befouled is at once cut out and thrown outside by the women.

The cooking utensils are simple, consisting of an asador, or iron spit, for roasting meat, and an occasional iron pot, which serves for boiling and also for trying out ostrich grease and marrow, which is employed both for cooking and for mixing with the paint with which the faces of both sexes are adorned. To these, wooden platters and armadillo shells, to serve broth in, are sometimes added. The duty of pitching and arranging the toldos on the halt and striking them for the march, as well as loading the poles, covering, and furniture on the horses, devolves entirely upon the women, who display great strength and dexterity in the work.

About the toldos were innumerable dogs of all sizes and breeds, and Mrs. Orkeke rejoiced in the possession of two fowls brought from the settlement, and the all-important possession of the Indians—horses, completed the bustling liveliness of the scene. There were not less than 150 belonging to the various members of the party, Orkeke and Tankelow owning about forty, besides mares and skittish colts of all ages, which ran about so that they could not be counted. The reader can imagine what scene the march and encampment of such a party presents, and the care with which the Indians must select their route so as to be sure of game for themselves and pasture for their animals. Of the dogs and horses in use by the Tehuelches a fuller description will be given hereafter.

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with a bodkin, and sewn to the hide with sinew. The anvils and hammers for working silver are generally stone implements; flints, however, are only used by the men for procuring fire. The Tehuelches are also very handy workers in iron, and will fashion a knife, or even an adze, out of any piece of metal procured by theft, commerce in the colonies, or from wrecks on the coast. One of the knives frequently used in the latter part of my journey was formed out of one blade of an old pair of scissors forged for me by Hinchel.

Their tools for working silver, iron, wood, &c., consist of files, known by the expressive name of 'Khikerikikh,' or perhaps a rasp, an occasional saw, an axe, the inevitable small adze (fig. 6), a pair of scissors, or an old chisel. Many of these have been obtained from shipwrecks on the coast, others by barter in the settlements.

The women's most important occupation in camp was the making up of skin mantles, which merits a full description.

The skins are first dried in the sun, being pegged down with thorns of the algarroba tree. When dry they are taken up, and scraped with pieces of flint, agate, obsidian, or sometimes glass, fixed into a branch naturally bent so as to form a handle (fig. 7). They are then smeared over with grease and liver kneaded into pulp, after which they are softened in the hand until quite pliable, when they are placed on the ground and cut with a small, very sharp knife into pieces, dovetailed so as to fit one into the other, in order to secure strength of seam, and parcelled out amongst a party of four or six women, with a corresponding quantity of needles and thread, consisting of bodkins formed out of sharpened nails, and dried sinews from the back of the adult guanaco. A whole mantle is never sewn together at once, but when one half is finished it is pegged out and the paint applied to it thus. The surface is slightly damped, and each woman takes a cake or piece of red ochre, if the ground is to be red, and, keeping it damp, lays the paint on with great care. When the ground is finished, the pattern of small black spots and blue

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294 and yellow lines is painted with the greatest exactness, the
531 women working all day with the most assiduous industry. When completed it is left for a night to dry, and the other half and wings, which serve in lieu of sleeves, are duly completed, and subsequently all are joined together, presenting, when finished, an unbroken surface of fur. The most favourite pattern (except when the wearer is in mourning) is a red ground with small black crosses and blue and yellow longitudinal lines for borders, or with a zigzag of white, blue, and red. The untiring energy with which the women work,
462 and the rapidity with which they sew, are astonishing. When a man is married, his wife, or wives, of course manufacture his mantles, assisted by their friends, whom they help in their turn; but should he be a bachelor, as in my unfortunate case,
[437] he gives out his skins to a fair lady, who works like other people I have heard of—on half-profits, and the hunter generally loses by the bargain; at least such was my experience, some thirty or forty skins only producing a mantle containing about one-third their number. Besides the guanaco
291 mantles which are most generally worn, others are made
437 from the skins of the fox, puma, wild cat, cavy, and skunk; the fur of the latter and of the wild cat are the most valuable, but, like the others, are generally intended only for barter.
462 The women, besides making mantles, weave the fillets for the
[294] head previously mentioned, from threads of unravelled stuff obtained in barter at the settlements, or from their Araucanian neighbours. They work on the same principle as
[286] that on which a sailor constructs a sword mat. Besides these fillets, they occasionally weave scarves for the waist, and garters. Many of them also work in the minor details of
[326] silver ornaments, such as hollowing out or bending the studs, boring the holes, and stitching them on to the belts or armour, as the case may be. They also sew the skins
[281] together for the coverings of the toldos, which is very laborious work. They scrape and dress horse-hides for the furniture of the bed-places, painting them in various pat-

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terns; make the bolsters of reeds (often also ornamented 462
with silver) to place as a protection for their high saddles, cook the food, smash the marrow-bones and extract the grease; take care of the children, and fetch wood, water and do all the 'chores,' as the Americans say. As may be seen, they are pretty nearly always occupied; nevertheless, they 441
occasionally find time to play cards, and sometimes to squabble and talk scandal.

The children generally employ themselves in imitating 857
their elders. The boys play with miniature bolas, and catch the dogs with small lazos, and the girls construct miniature toldos and sit in them; for this purpose they carry off unchecked anything that may seem suitable. Frequently when about to join the chase I had to interfere with these latter games, and recover my saddle-gear, which had been appropriated by the juveniles.

The musical instruments of the Tehuelches have been pre- 534
viously described. In Teckel, besides the native orchestra (fig. 8) and harmonies, to which one had become accustomed, we furthermore rejoiced in a cornet, with music from which Jackechan's brother frequently enlivened our evenings. Many amongst the Tehuelches could blow the ordinary bugle 533
calls which they had been accustomed to hear when in the Rio Negro or at Punta Arenas; and most of them appeared to possess a good ear for music. Their songs, however, are not melodious, and are mere repetitions of words devoid of all sense or meaning. Casimiro informed me that formerly the old men were in the habit of singing the traditions of the tribe and also some sort of prayer. It is much to be regretted that these customs have fallen into disuse. I tried 173
on various occasions to obtain information about their ancestors, but all my efforts were fruitless. When I asked them how their people travelled before horses came into the country, they could not realise the fact that such was ever the case.

There is little to add to the details already given of the 262

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these necklaces, and adorn their knife sheaths, belts, and horse-gear with silver studs or plate, and such as can afford it indulge in silver spurs and stirrups. The women furthermore lengthen their hair artificially, adorning the long tails with blue beads and silver pendants, but this only happens on state occasions. Both sexes smear their faces and occasionally their limbs with paint. This paint is composed of either red ochre or a black earth mixed with grease, obtained by boiling out the marrow-bones of the guanaco killed in the chase; they also tattoo on the forearm by the simple process of puncturing the skin with a bodkin, and inserting a mixture of blue earth with a piece of dry grass.

On state occasions, such as a feast on the birth of a child, the men further adorn themselves with white paint—a powdered gypsum, which they moisten and rub on their heads, and then make five white finger-marks over their chests, arms, legs, etc. Nearly every morning the men have their hair brushed out with a rude description of brush, by their wives, or if unmarried, their sisters or female friends, who take great care to burn any hair that may be brushed out, as they fully believe that spells may be worked by evil intentioned persons who can obtain a piece of their hair or nails. After the hair-brushing is finished, the women adorn the men's faces with paint; if in mourning they put on black paint, and if going to fight, sometimes put a little white paint under the eyes, which assists, in contrast to the other, in giving a savage expression. The women paint each other's faces, or if they possess a small piece of looking-glass, paint their own. The women on the eve of their wedding-night cover their bodies all over with white paint, and a child on its birth is also similarly whitened.

The tents or toldos of these people, called by themselves "kow", much resemble those of our gipsies, though they are much larger, loftier, and of a squarer form. It is simply and speedily constructed. A row of forked posts, about three feet high, are driven into the ground, and a ridge pole laid across in front of these, at a distance of about six feet; a second row five feet high with a ridge pole; and at the same distance a third row, six feet high, are fixed. A covering, made from forty to fifty full-grown guanaco skins sewn together, and smeared with a mixture of grease and red ochre, is drawn over from the rear, and secured by thongs to the front poles. Hide curtains fastened between the inner poles partition off the sleeping places, and the baggage, piled round the sides, excludes the cold blast.

The duty of pitching and striking the toldos, as well as of loading the hides and poles on the horses, devolves on the women, who show great strength and dexterity in the work. The furniture of the toldo consists of a few hides, bolsters formed

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of old ponchos stuffed with guanaco wool, and sewn up with ostrich or guanaco sinews, a few lechos or woven blankets obtained from the Araucanos, and the remaining saddle gear. The cooking utensils comprise only an occasional iron pot, and an asador or spit; wooden platters are occasionally met with. The weapons used in the chase are the bolas, fitted with either two or three balls, the first being used against ostrich, and the latter to capture guanaco; and a lazo for capturing wild horses or cattle.

The arms of the Tehuelches consist of gun, or revolver, a long heavy lance, used only by dismounted Indians, and the bola perdida, or single ball, a most effective weapon in their hands. Figaletta mentions these Indians as using bows and arrows; this I look upon as an error: he either met with a party of Fueginos, or else with a tribe of Pampas living on the sea-coast, further north, whom I shall shortly have occasion to notice. My reason for stating that he was wrong is simply that no flint arrow-heads are met with until the Rio Negro is reached, where they abound. Also there is but little wood nearer than the Cordillera suitable for bows, and it is reasonable to suppose that previous to the introduction of horses, these Indians' journeys were confined to a smaller area. Indeed, one Indian informed me that some caves, existing in a volcanic range south of the Santa Cruz river, were formerly inhabited by Tehuelches. When not engaged in hunting or training their horses, men occupy themselves in making wooden saddles, bolas, lazos, spurs, and other gear, or in working silver ornaments and pipes made out of stone or hard wood, and fitted usually with a silver tube; they also manufacture iron, procured by trade or from shipwrecks, into rings, knives, etc.

Their anvils and hammers for working the silver are generally of stone. They also shape the materials for bolas with hard stones; the scrapers with which the women clean the skins are of flint or chalcedon, of which material, probably, prior to the advent of the Spaniards, their knives were constructed. They procure fire by the use of flint and steel, employing as tinder a description of dried fungus, obtained in the wooded districts at the base of the Cordillera. The women's occupations, besides discharging all the household duties and fetching wood and water, consist in dressing the skins and manufacturing the mantles of the young guanaco, fox, skunk, and ostrich skins, using, instead of needles and thread, sharp metal bodkins and sinews obtained from the back of the adult guanaco. The puma, fox, and ostrich mantles, are chiefly manufactured for barter in the settlements. Some of the women also weave garters and fillets for the head, and occasionally work in silver. The children amuse themselves, as usual, by imitating their elders. The boys practise with miniature bolas and lazos, and mount any

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
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earnest business that calls their faculties into full exercise, their features light up with unexpected intelligence and animation. In fact, as one becomes familiar with them, he will not fail to detect an habitual expression of "secretiveness" and duplicity, which he will wonder he did not observe sooner. They are almost as imitative as monkeys, and are all great liars; falsehood is universal and inveterate with men, women and children. The youngest seem to inherit the taint, and vie with the oldest in displaying it. The detection of a falsehood gives them no shame or uneasiness. To these traits should be added a thorough-paced treachery, and, what might seem rather inconsistent with their other qualities, a large share of vanity, and an immoderate love of praise. They are excessively filthy in their personal habits. Hydrophobia, so to speak, is a prevailing distemper; they never wash themselves. Hands and faces are covered with dirt, so thick, and of such ancient deposit, that their natural color only appears in spots, laid bare by the mechanical loosening and displacement of some of the strata, which curiously variegates the surface. It is hardly necessary to remark that such a condition of the skin is highly favorable to the increase and multiplication of "the moving creature that hath life," wherewith their persons are abundantly peopled.

The women are proportionally smaller than the men, and rather inclined to embonpoint. The old chief had four wives, though he had probably never heard of Mahomet or his domestic laws. The rest of the tribe had only one wife apiece. The women erect the wigwams, provide fuel and cook,—if the operation should be dignified with that name,—in short, all the drudgery falls to their lot. They are

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462 Arrived at their wigwams, the chivalrous hunters never unlade their beasts, but lean upon the horses' necks till their wives come out and relieve them of the spoil. They then dismount, unsaddle their horses, and turn them loose.

000 Whilst remaining at our present encampment, strong indications of dissatisfaction were apparent, which manifestly had reference to me. There was a large party that had always entertained hostile feelings towards me; and I now found it necessary to exert myself to the utmost to quell their discontent, by making large promises of presents to men, women and children, "due and payable" on arrival at some white settlement; also, by humoring their caprices, and flattering their vanity with the most honeyed words at my command. The reader, I hope, will not harshly judge of the deceptions which are here and elsewhere avowed in this narrative. I was placed in circumstances which, it seemed to me, made this a legitimate and necessary mode of self-defence. It was plain that my only way of escape would be by some negotiation for ransom, and the Indians had conceived expectations of very large profit to be made out of me. They were told, when we landed, that I was the captain of the ship, — an unfortunate error, but one that I could not repair. I was naturally looked upon as so much the more valuable hostage. My only resource was to act in character: to magnify my own importance, to increase their expectations, whenever I found myself sinking in the scale of their favor, — to make them feel, in short, that they had an immense interest in preserving my life, and getting me to "Holland," or some other white settlement, with the most convenient speed. And if some of the fictions appear gross, it is enough to say that they

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
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Two pieces of skin are cut to fit each other. The tailoress (for all the work, from the curing of the skins to the last results, is done by the squaws) holds the edges together with the left hand, and drills them for sewing with a sharpened nail, held between the first two fingers of the right hand; the pointed thread, held between the finger and thumb, is inserted and drawn through, and so the work goes on. The stitches are tolerably fine, and a very neat seam is made. Other pieces are added, and when the whole is finished the seams are rubbed smooth with a bone. The fur being worn inside, there remains the work of outside decoration. With a due quantity of clay, blood, charcoal and grease, amalgamated for the purpose, the artist arms herself with a stick for a brush, and executes divers figures in black, on a red ground; which if intended to shadow forth men, require a vigorous imagination to detect the purpose. They might pass for unhappy ghosts (if a little more ethereal in composition), or for deformed trees. They bear a rude resemblance to a chair in profile, or a figure 4; and are thickly disposed over the whole surface, in the attitude sometimes vulgarly termed "spoon-fashion." The garment is now complete; the edges are carefully trimmed with a knife, and the fabric is thrown over the shoulders, with the infallible certainty of fitting as closely as the native tastes require. There is no trial of patience in smoothing obstinate wrinkles. A "genteel fit" is the easiest thing in the world; wherein Patagonian tailors have decidedly the advantage of their fellow-craftsmen in civilised lands.

6

parting their hair down the middle, braid it into two pigtails which, coming down over the ears and shoulders reach the chest and waist. The ribbon with which they tie these braids is made of dark wool two fingers wide, and the rich women trim them with beads on special days. They also put beads on the large pins which secure their outer skin garments, on the lower part of their legs as anklets and about their necks as chokers of different colors. They wear brass earrings, and so do the men. The equipment which the women use for riding - and they usually ride mares - includes a kind of stuffed saddle of tanned cowhide (if they can get it), very well made, studded with little brass nails and adorned at either end with beads of varied colors (when they have them) arranged in designs and patterns of their fashioning. The cinch about the horse's belly has three metal rings, one at one end and the other two a third of the distance from either end. The buckle with which they attach and tighten this girth is very large. The bridle is made up of halter, bit and reins; the halter is richly decorated, adorned with beads and anything else they can get hold of for the purpose. The reins and bit are similar to those used by the men. The mares are further adorned about their necks with strings of bells or such other baubles as the women can procure. These necklaces reach down to the animals knees and are used only on special days. On ordinary trips they are replaced by ropes of blue or red wool, about a finger in thickness, which are wound about the animal's neck three times, and which aid the women to get up onto their saddles. [70] The women sit on their saddles facing the head of their mount and folding their legs under them, a very uncomfortable posture which long habit alone allows them to take, and which exposes them to numerous falls. While riding and while mounting they are extraordinarily modest and keep themselves completely covered at all times. The women of some authority wear straw hats on the march which are circlets with a brim but no crown, which they tie beneath their chins with anything serviceable, and with this they shield themselves from sun and rain when they travel on horseback.

302 [531] [556] 301 492 [53] [516] [834] 554 292

The activity or occupation of the men is to hunt, in order to supply their families with meat, and to make the skin tents or huts in which they live, and all their clothing. They also take care of the horses they own and make all their riding gear. Their games are limited to dicing, to training in their manner of fighting, and to racing each other on horseback. 462

The women are obliged to cook the food, fetch water and firewood, put up and take down the tents when on the march and load and unload them. The men do not help at all in these chores, even if the

woman be sick, for she must somehow find the strength to do all this. In addition to these things she must sew the tent together, it being made always of the skins of full grown guanacos, and all the other skins which go to make bedding and clothing, these usually being made of hare, skunk or newly born or unborn guanacos. These small guanacos are collected and skinned in the springtime, and those in excess of the local need are bartered with the Indians of Rio Negro for horses, clothing, beaded halters and knives, which the latter acquire by trading or on their periodic invasions of the Buenos Aires frontier. The fact is that the Indians whom we are here describing have never had dealings with Spaniards until the present date, nor have they seen any Spanish towns, nor do these regions contain iron, metal, brass, tools or arms - all these things must be acquired by the above mentioned trading. The women, in order to sew the skins together use awls which they make from the iron the Rio Negro Indians give them, and instead of thread they use nerves which they collect, as needed, from the legs of ostriches.

The chieftainship is hereditary and his authority absolute in regard to shifting the camp site in search of the game upon which they live. When the chief thinks that it is time to move he shouts out a speech in a loud voice from his tent the evening before the move is to be made. All the others listen to him with great attention, each from his own tent. He tells them that a move must be made on the following day, he assigns a time for rounding up [71] the horses, for striking the tents and for starting out; no one answers him, and at the assigned hour all are ready as he has ordered. The women travel along paths which lead to the watering places where they are to stay; they are responsible for all the baggage. The men, after the women have got under way, spread out and take their places in the surrounding region in order to enclose the guanacos and entangle them with the bolas as they attempt to break away. The guanacos cannot be chased, for they dash away headlong at such speed that no horse or dog can catch them. Once brought down by the bolas the dogs assist the Indians to finish them off. The chief himself assigns the position each Indian must take for the guanaco beat, for which in testimony of his overlordship, he is given part of the catch. The chief never takes active part in the hunt and does nothing other than go from stand to stand. The longest day's journeys are of four leagues. On arriving at the assigned camping place the women put up the tents, collect firewood and have everything ready for the coming of the men. The latter, when the sun sets, go to their tents, and never have I seen any of them arrive at their tents after nightfall. If the march is to be continued on the following day the chief harangues his people in the same manner

484 as before, but if he says nothing, then all know that for the while they are to remain in that place. Their camp site is usually in the area to which they know that the game has moved. When the chief sees that meat is running low he gives orders at sundown, in the same manner as when ordering a move to a new camp site, that the horses are to be brought in at some specified time on the following day. Once this has been done he harangues them once more, this time on horseback, and assigns the hunting stations and all else which each group of hunters is to do. Some women go with them to load the game, the men being unwilling to do even this chore. The tents are left standing and in them the remaining women, children, and disabled Indians wait. At sundown they return to their tents once more. The chief's authority is limited to these few activities only, and he never for any crime punishes his people, although in the aforementioned matters in which obedience is required it is never found that they do not fulfill his orders faithfully. When he wants to wage war on his neighbors, or on some other group which may have insulted their honor, this can only be carried into effect with the approval of his chief subordinates, to which effect they meet together in the chief's tent. The latter mulls over and explains the wrongs which have been done, the way in which they can be avenged, forces, ease and difficulties entailed in the waging of the war. The members of the council confer about the matter and either approve or reject the proposal of the chief, who does not take offense if he is overruled. Usually the chief's bid for war is approved and the council merely discusses ways and means of waging it, and the time of its commencing. This discussion often lasts some days. Once they are agreed on the matter of beginning hostilities the chief, on three successive nights, shouts the news in a loud voice from his tent so as to inform his people of the declaration of war, the time which has been set for its [72] commencement, the manner in which it is to be conducted, who are the enemies, the cause of the war, and they are warned to be wary and prepared.

One of the principle causes for the declaration of war is the following: Each chief's territory has fixed boundaries, and no Indian may cross into the territory of a neighbor without obtaining permission from the latter to do so. The Indian who wishes to obtain such permission must make three smoke signals, and until he is answered by three other smoke signals he may not approach the encampment. Once he has been answered he must give an account of himself to the chief in whose territory he is, telling his reasons for coming, be it only because he is passing through or because he wishes to take up residence there. If the chief so